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556 578 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 602 [764] In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 602 154 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 [177] In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still [154] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

● 695 681 627 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvious intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through a ceremonial dunning procedure (*nahuel, nohuor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard dealing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

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retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault — not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

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159 her. So they said I must buy the girl. They said I was to search for a bride-price and they would search for a dowry, and on a given day we would exchange bride-price for dowry. This is not our custom. This is a Rualmelang custom. I said I had not slept with this girl. One morning I stood under their house and called out, "Come look at my penis. If it is wet, I have slept with your daughter. If it is dry, I have not slept with her." Karmating said, "My friend, do not open your loincloth and expose yourself." I was just joking. The girl and her mother came down, and the girl lied. She said I had slept with her. They said I lied. So the 159 girl said we had better try the millet ordeal. When they had the millet 695 boiling, they dropped a small round stone in it. I reached into the pot, found the stone, and pulled it out. I ran to the dance place and said to Lahatala [God], "Indeed, Lahatala, witness this. If I had slept with the woman, my hand would have been burned. If I had not slept with her, my hand would not have been burned. My hand is not burned. You people have accused me falsely." My hand was a little sore that day and I slept. But the next morning it was all right.

159 At this time chiefs had just been appointed and litigations had begun, 689 but I used the old way, *do buor kaluket*. [He inserted ethnographic details, which I have deleted. He is recounting a system of forcing high payment through shaming the persons who have insulted him.] So I went to Alomale and asked for his pig, which he was raising in partnership with a woman. It was worth a Hiekbui [6-rupiah moko]. She did not want to give it to me and they quarreled. Alomale wounded it, and then he followed me and ceremonially demanded payment. So I gave him my Maningmauk [10-rupiah moko] for the pig.

159 Then I went to Lanpada and Moapada, who had accused me. They 584 didn't want to pay me. They said the girl wanted to marry me and would carry a load of wood to my house next day. Six days went by before the girl came with the wood. She set it down far from the house and came to sit half on and half off the verandah. My mother called to her and told her to come up and cook, but she didn't want to. So I talked to her, and I discovered she did not have a big heart for me. She wanted to marry another man. So my mother gave her a squash and she went back to her own house. In six more days my aunt took the wood and carried it back to the girl's house. Then in six days I went again to 159 call for my debt. This time there was a litigation involving five of us 689 men who had slept in Malemai's house with this woman. Four of us who had not had intercourse had to pay fifty cents each. But Manialurka had tugged at her breasts and slept with her, so he had to pay a pig and a fine.